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Let us now consider a few triads in which the tripartite division is given form.

(*a*) In the village temple system the temple of the dead (*pura dalĕm*) is in principle located to *kĕlod* or *kĕlod*-west of the village centre. Around this temple, the first to be built when a new *desa* is founded, the care for the souls that are not yet purified is concentrated. Whenever someone is seriously ill an attempt can be made to mollify the deity of the temple of the dead by presenting offerings and pronouncing an exorcizing formula to the ailing person's soul, which is considered to be already in waiting there: 'Please come home quickly, for we have asked the deity for you.' When a person dies he is usually buried for the time being; then when the time has come for cremation the first step is that of asking the deity of the temple of the dead to release the soul. Next the dead person is addressed at the burial ground: 'Be so good as to come home. The ceremonies for you will be fulfilled completely. You no longer have to serve, for we have asked the deity for you.' When the body is disinterred Mother Earth is asked to yield up the corpse while an offering is made.[11]

By means of cremation the soul is purified and joins the group of deified beings.[12] These beings are worshipped by the *desa* in the navel temple (*pura pusĕh*). In the nature of things it lies to the *kaja* or *kaja*-east of the village. The village community finds its expression in the assembly-hall temple (*pura bale agung*) or *desa* temple, which is customarily located at the centre of the village. In this way the community of mortals finds itself between the group of impure, ominous dead and that of the purified, salutary, deified dead, exorcising the first category and worshipping the second.

(*b*) The same principle dominates the lay-out of a dwelling compound. The household temple where the deified ancestors of the family are honoured again lies to the *kaja*-east, the refuse heap to *kĕlod*, and the dwelling between the two. The ground plan of a royal palace (*puri*) is similar. The southwest court of the *puri* of Gianyar, for example, is open to everyone; its intersticed walls serve more or less to emphasize that fact. More to the north and

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342 349 east lie the private courts of the ruler, his family, and his retinue. In the northeast corner is the household temple.[33]

792 342 (*c*) In the inner court, the part of the temple dedicated to the 'upward service', there are various pagodas (*merus*) – representatives, as their name suggests, of Mahameru, the mountain of the gods (thus, one might say, miniature Gunung Agungs). These structures are also tripartite, but in this case the tripartition is vertical. The stone base rests on a serpent and a tortoise, both of them nether-world animals. The multiple roofs of dark *duk*, the fibre of the sugar palm, represent heaven, which is conceived of as having various levels. The middle section consists of a small wooden chamber, the contact place for the gods when they visit this world.

(*d*) Closely parallel is the design of the *bade*, the towerlike structure in which the body of a member of a noble caste is taken to the place of cremation. The lower part, the part just above the carrying poles, is again characterized by a serpent and a tortoise. The upper edge of it displays a mountain motif, indicating the realm of the earth. Above that is a pavilion representing the atmosphere, the place for the dead person, who no longer belongs to the earth, but not yet to heaven. The pavilion is supported by Garuda, the bird of heaven. The multiple roofs, like the roofs of the *meru*, are a replica of the heavens; the number of roofs depends on the caste of the deceased person.[34]

826 (*e*) The tripartite division also plays an important part in the concept of the relation between man, as the microcosmos, and the ordered universe, the macrocosmos, a concept which is of very great importance in Balinese mystic contemplation and soteriological doctrine. The feet of man not only have contact with the earth in the literal sense, but also figuratively, in a classificational sense, with the nether world. Man's head belongs to the upper world; the fontanel is the place where the deity is thought to descend. The trunk, and more especially the heart, represents the intermediary element.

826 764 These notions find expression at any number of ceremonies, for example at the ritual purification which formed a part of the

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chandis can be considered as the true seats or contact places of the deity. The pavilion of the gods has the function of a divine presence chamber where the eight guardians receive homage after they have descended. And the monument in the pond is a netherworldly complement: besides the protectors of the cosmos there are also demonic powers who extend their might over the universe.

A few further comments and a brief summary of the data regarding the essential characteristics of Pura Taman Ayun are in order before we take leave of this state temple. The *pura* derives its name from the fact that most of its west and south sides are surrounded by a sort of lake formed by a dam in the river. Thus though the sanctuary itself is on higher terrain, it gives an impression of lying in the middle of a pond. Moreover there is the smaller pond in the central square. As its name suggests, a pond is one of the characteristic attributes of a *pura taman*. Other examples of such temples are Pura Ped and Pura Batu Mĕdau, on Nusa Pĕnida, and Pura Luhur, near Wongaya Gĕde. Also characteristic for the *pura taman* is the fact that the ruler takes part in its cult. The pond is looked upon as a place of contact with the upper-worldly forces *via* the *widadaris* or celestial nymphs who use it as a bathing place.

Informants stated that there was a certain relation between Pura Taman Ayun and Pura Ulu Batu on Bukit: the anniversaries of both temples fall on Anggara Kasih (Tuesday-Klion) in the week of Mĕdangsia. In the same way the anniversaries of Pura Prasada at Kapal and Pura Sĕkenan on the island of Sarangan are related, falling on two successive days, Kuningan Day (Saturday-Klion in Kuningan) and Manis Kuningan (Sunday-Umanis in Langkir).

In summary, the fact that the centrally located Pura Taman Ayun is a *pura taman* shows clearly that it must have been closely connected with the ruling house, and the presence of a *paibon* marks it as a *pĕmĕrajan*. The dynastic ancestor cult is related to the system of the eight guardians of the cosmic order by means of the *linggas* and the pavilion of the gods, to Ibu Pĕrtiwi by means of

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621 361 This *desa* is completely different from the ordinary Balinese village in appearance. Extending roughly five hundred yards from north to south and two hundred fifty yards from east to west, it gives the impression of being a compact settlement built according to a preconceived plan. Three broad main streets with rows of guava trees down the middle divide the village into four large, approximately equal strips, each subdivided into two or three blocks of compounds by side streets set at right angles to the main streets. Running water streams through the stone gutters beside the streets and along the rear of the compounds.

The village lies locked between the ravine to the south mentioned above, the Pandĕk River (with little water) to the west, and the row of foothills to the east. The northern limit consists of a *desa* street and the *kaja-kauh* (northwestern) bathing place, which, like the street and compound gutters, receives its water from a conduit dug through rough terrain from the Buhu River, running through the eastern part of the village territory.

Since the *desa* rises sharply to the north the streets are terraced. The transitions from one terrace to another consist of steep inclines of river stones.

One's attention is particularly attracted by the unbroken row of serried roofs of coconut leaf and palm fibre on either side of the streets. At first sight they seem to form one long house, because of the peculiar location of the dwellings and other buildings in the compounds. The compounds, surrounded by walls half of stone and half of clay, are roughly twenty yards deep and fifteen yards across. A small stone incline leads from the street to the plain stone compound gate (*jĕlanan awang*) with its wooden door, which is closed at night. Often small holes are left open near the ground on either side of the gate so that the dogs can get in and out. Higher up on both sides are the offering niches (*bĕlong jĕlanan*), usually triangular in shape.

342 Upon entering the compound one finds oneself beneath an oblong roof stretching along the street side, with the space to the right used as a place to store agricultural and other equipment, and that to the left as the *bale buga*. This *bale* is specifically Tĕngan-

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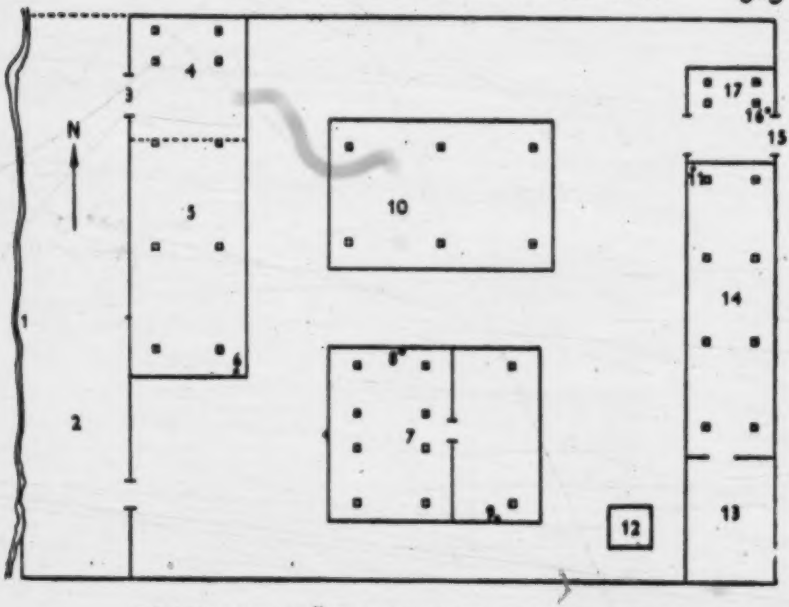

PLAN OF A TĔNGANANESE COMPOUND

1 Water conduit
2 *Tĕba*
3 Rear gate
4 *Lĕsung*
5 Kitchen
6 Kitchen offering niche
7 *Bale siyadandan mahamben*
8 Window
9 Window
10 *Bale sakanĕm*
11 *Aling-aling* offering niche
12 Family chapel
13 Storeroom
14 *Bale buga*
15 Compound gate
16 Gate offering niche
17 Storage shed

anese. It rests on eight columns, with three cubicles of five by seven feet partioned off between them and open at the front. (In the *banjar* of Pande the *bale buga* is only allowed to have two cubicles.) The cubicle nearest the gate is used for the arrangement of offerings on festive occasions; the other two serve as sleeping space for the boys and young men, while in the daytime the women weave there. The walls and ceiling are often covered with mats and decorated by clipped-paper borders. Above the sleeping accommodation the wooden partition is occasionally

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342 decorated with scenes from the *Smarandana*. To the left of the *bale buga* is the storeroom (*gĕdong*). The compound gate, the storage space, the *bale buga*, and the *gĕdong*, then, are all under one roof, which is required to be made of sugar-palm fibre or coconut leaf. *Alang-alang* may not be used for it.

In front of the *gĕdong* is the *sanggah kĕmulan*,[3] the family chapel, consisting of a wooden chamber with four columns covered with sugar-palm fibre. Beneath the *sanggah* is a large earthenware pot for holy water, the *gĕnduk sanggah*. The sanctuary is overshadowed by a small Cape jasmine tree.

In the middle of the compound stand the two largest and most important buildings, the *bale sakanĕm* and the *bale siyadandan mahamben*. It is in the *bale sakanĕm* (which, as its name implies, has six columns) that a Tĕngananese first sees the light of day, and it is there that his body is washed before it is taken to the graveyard. The space between the six columns contains two rooms like those in the *bale buga*, one of them seven feet square, the other seven by nine. Above these rooms is the rice granary. The *bale siyadandan mahamben* – the nine-columned *bale* with the verandah – is practically the same as the *umah mĕten* or sleeping house found elsewhere. The verandah is open except on the left side, where a stone wall with a window obscures the clay compound wall. A wooden door gives access to a room seven feet wide and thirteen feet long, except for a small corridor completely filled by two large sleeping tables, with storage space for all kinds of household articles above them. The right wall has a small window, and the rear wall a triangular opening. The roof is usually of coconut leaf or *alang-alang*. The room serves as sleeping space for the daughters, and the verandah for the parents.

Behind the *bale siyadandan* is the pigpen, while a barrel of water indicates that one can also wash there. The right-hand corner of the rear of the compound contains a large kitchen (*paon*), and the *lĕsung*, where the rice is husked. Both of them are under a single roof. A gate in the rear wall (*jĕlanan tĕba*) gives access to the place used by the members of the family for toilet purposes; the water running from the conduit through the *tĕba* is used for the custom-

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ary cleansing. There is also a small gate to the *tĭba* from the pig-342
pen, and the omnivorous pigs serve to keep the area cleaned up.

At various places in the walls of the buildings there are *bĕlongs* or offering niches, for example in the *paon*, the *bale siyadandan*, the *gĕdong*, and the *bale buga*, which last niche is known as *bĕlong alingaling*.[3] In the walls on the street side there are several blind windows.

This description of a Tĕngananese compound holds true for most of the compounds in the village, though there are some of slightly larger dimensions. The uniform architecture gives the village a well-groomed appearance, and that impression is reinforced by the fact that the attractive assembly halls and other public buildings are also laid out in one line.

A disproportionally large *desa* territory belongs to this residential 361
village of approximately thirty acres. There is a legend regarding 311
the origin of the *desa* territory that is current in various versions. 538
Long, long ago the ruler of Bedahulu had a favourite horse, pitch black with a white tail, that was also much in the favour of the ruler's groom (*i pĕkatik*). Once, in the heat of battle, the ruler lost his horse. He sent his subjects out to seek the animal: he sent the *pandes mas*, the goldsmiths, to the northwest, where they established themselves as the Bratanese, and the *pandes wĕsi*, the blacksmiths, to the east. Led by the *pĕkatik*, Onche Sĕraya, the *pandes wĕsi* finally came to Chandi Dasa, where the *pĕkatik* found the horse dead in the forest. He immediately informed the ruler, who asked, "Tell me, groom, do you still cherish love for my horse?" To which the *pĕkatik* answered humbly, "Hail, exalted ruler of the world; if you have no objections, I pray you to allow me to keep vigil over the body of the horse in the forest; when I die, let it be beside the horse, for my love for it has not diminished." The ruler of Bedahulu answered, "This is your considered request; so be it. But then you must accept a favour from me. See how far you can trace the smell of the body in the neighbourhood; as far as it reaches, so far shall the territory extend which I grant you as a sign of my gratitude for the love you bear my horse."[4] And the

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There is little hunting and fishing as an occupation. Nets, snares, and traps are used in hunting, primarily to catch chevrotains, which are to be found in abundance near the boundary with the *desa* of Dauh Tukad. The Tĕngananese girls are very fond of the *dedas rase*, so that the young fellows, especially, concentrate on catching this musk-deer.

There is practically nothing done in the way of handicrafts (with the single exception of weaving) in Tĕnganan. I counted only twelve carpenters, two wood and stone workers, and one smith in the village. The smith comes from the village of Tunggak, and is bound to the *desa* by a permanent debt. The Tĕngananese smiths of earlier times have moved to the *pande* village of Bratan. The dwellings display little that is artistic; only a few temple gates have been given a certain amount of decoration by artists from other villages. Nowadays, however, there are several skilled wood carvers in the village.

The dwellings are to a very large extent covered with coconut leaf. The roofing is done by persons from other *desas*, who also provide the material. If a roof is to be covered with *alang-alang*, however, other members of the *desa* are asked to help. As was pointed out, the *bale buga* must have a roof either of coconut leaf or sugar-palm fibre, which latter is very expensive. Plaiting and the making of bricks and pottery are prohibited activities, though the women are allowed to glaze ceramics made elsewhere.

So-called Tĕngananese fabrics are popular throughout Bali and among all tourists. It is, however, not so well known that these fabrics are made only in Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, and not, for example, in the nearby *desas* of Tĕnganan Dauh Tukad and Tĕnganan Pasĕdahan. Hence the Balinese themselves rightly call the fabrics *gĕringsing*, though Europeans always speak of Tĕngananese cloths.[12] It is frequently said that the reddish-brown colour which gives the fabrics such a warm glow beside the black and yellow was originally obtained with human blood. In Tĕnganan itself, however, this is emphatically denied. As far back as can be remembered the dye has been obtained from Nusa Pĕnida, and the

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184 isolation in Tenganan that there is an official specially appointed Such is the obsession for
361 to sweep the village after the visits of strangers, to obliterate their
[609] footprints.

We became acquainted with I-Tanggú, a youngish man with
[115] fingernails four inches long, who was the *perbekel* of Tenganan, the representative of his village with the Dutch Government. We were surprised to find him quite sociable. Once we played host to him in Den Pasar and from then on we were often invited to visit Tenganan. Unlike the rest of the villages in Bali, there is hardly any vegetation around the Tenganan houses, which are all exactly alike and are arranged in rows on each side of stone-paved avenues. In the central place is the council house where the Elders meet, a long shed about ten feet wide by some seventy feet long, strongly built and apparently very old. Farther along are other buildings for public use, the purpose of some kept a secret. The most curious are the unique mill for grinding *kemiri*
[252] nuts to obtain oil, and the wooden Ferris-wheel, usually dis-
[788] mantled, in which the women revolve for hours in a strange rite. The dwelling of I-Tanggú is just like all the others: a small gate
342 reached by a flight of steps leads into a court in which are the sleeping-quarters, the kitchen, and a long house for relatives and
[775] for storage. There is also a small empty shrine where the spirits may rest when they visit their descendants.

184 The people of Tenganan are tall, slender, and aristocratic in a
[42] rather ghostly, decadent way, with light skins and refined man-
[302] ners. The majority of the men still wear their hair long. They are proud and look down even on the Hindu-Balinese nobility, who respect them and leave them alone. They live in a strange
423 communistic or, rather, patriarchal-communalistic system in which individual ownership of property is not recognized and in which even the plans and measurements of the houses are set and alike for everybody. The village of Tenganan owns communally enormous tracts of fertile and well-cultivated lands that fill every need of the village and make it one of the richest in the

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CHAPTER V

EVERYDAY LIFE IN BALI

THE HOUSE

342 As an organic unit, the structure, significance, and function of the home is dictated by the same fundamental principles of belief that rule the village: blood-relation through the worship of the ancestors; rank, indicated by higher and lower levels; and orientation by the cardinal directions, the mountain and the sea, right and left. The Balinese say that a house, like a human being, has a head – the family shrine; arms – the sleeping-quarters and the social parlour; a navel – the courtyard; sexual organs – the gate; legs and feet – the kitchen and the granary; and anus – the pit in the backyard where the refuse is disposed of.

342 777 Magic rules control not only the structure but also the building and occupation of the house; only on an auspicious day specified in the religious calendar can they begin to build or occupy a house. On our arrival we were able to secure a new pavilion in the household of Gusti only because the date for occupation set by the priest was still three months off. We were strangers im- [609] mune from the laws of magic harmony that affect only the Balinese and we could live in the house until the propitious day when the priest would come to perform the *melaspasin*, the ceremony of inauguration, saying his prayers over each part of the house, burying little offerings at strategic points to protect the inmates from evil influences.

[p. 88]

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824 surely die, and it is only on certain days that work concerning bamboo may be safely undertaken. Yet life in Bali would have developed along different lines had bamboo not existed on the

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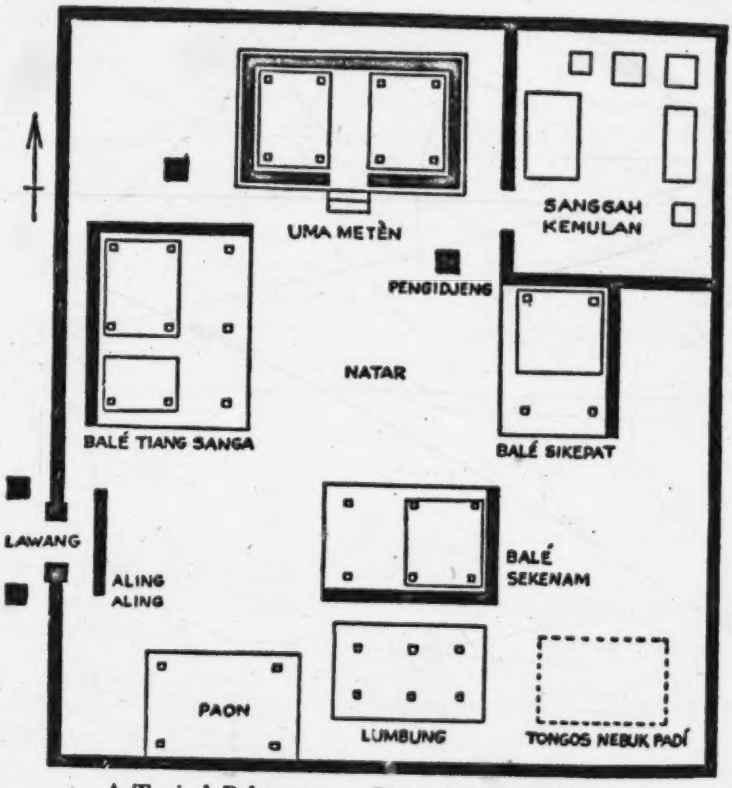

A Typical *Pekarangan* — Plan of Gedog's House

island. Out of bamboo they make the great majority of their artifacts; houses, beds, bridges, water-pipes, musical instruments, altars, and so forth. It is woven into light movable screens for walls, sun-hats, and baskets of every conceivable purpose. The young shoots are excellent to eat, while other parts are used as medicine. I was told that the tiny hairs in the wrapping of the new leaves are a slow and undetectable poison like ground glass

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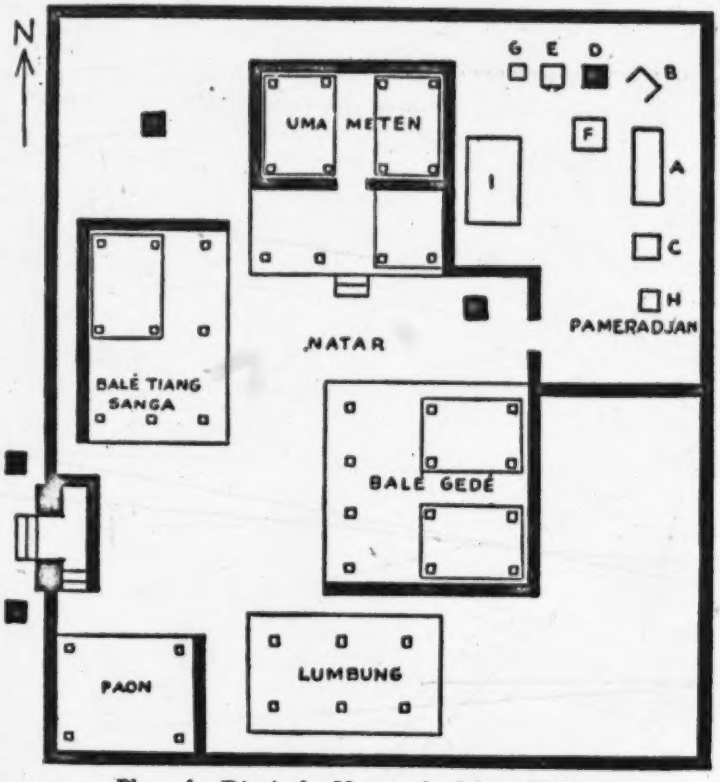
and tiger's whiskers. Bamboo combines the strength of steel with qualities of the lightest wood. It grows rapidly and without care to enormous size.



Plan of a *Djeró*, the House of a Man of Means

A — Kemulan
B — Padmasana
C — Mendjangan Seluang
D — Gedong for Gunung Agung
E — Sarén
F — Tadjok
G — Taksú
H — Ngrumah
I — Balé Piasan

Social and economic differences affect but little the basic structure of the home. The house of a poor family is called *pekarangan*, that of a nobleman is a *djeró*, and a Brahmana's is a *griya*, but these differences are mostly in the name, the quality

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342 of the materials employed, the workmanship, and of course in the larger and richer family temple. The fundamental plan is based on the same rules for everyone. Only the great palace (*puri*) of the local ruling prince is infinitely more elaborate, with a lily pond, compartments for the Radja's brothers and his countless wives, a great temple divided into three courts, and even special [841] sections for the preservation of the corpses and for the seclusion of "impure" palace women during the time of menstruation.

The household of Gedog, our next-door neighbour in Bela- 351 luan, was typical; the place of honour, the higher "north-east" 346 corner of the house towards the mountain,[1] was occupied by the 778 *sanggah kemulan*, the family temple where Gedog worshipped his ancestors. The *sanggah* was an elemental version of the formal village temple: a walled space containing a number of little empty god-houses and a shed for offerings. The main shrine, dedicated to the ancestral souls, was a little house on stilts divided into three compartments, each with a small door. There were other small shrines for the two great mountains – the Gunung Agung and Batur – and for the *taksú* and *ngrurah*, the "interpreter" and "secretary" of the deities. In Gedog's house the altars were of bamboo with thatch roofs, but in the home of Gusti's uncle, the noble judge who lived across the road, the family shrine was as elaborate as the village temple, with a moat, carved stone gates, brick altars, and expensive roofs of sugar-palm fibre. Such a temple is not a modest *sanggah*, but receives the more impressive name of *pameradjan*. Noble people pay special attention to the shrine for the deer-god Mendjangan [825] Seluang, the totemic animal of the descendants of Madjapahit, the Javanese masters of Bali.

342 Next in importance to the temple was the *uma metén*, the sleeping-quarters of Gedog and his wife, built towards the moun-

[361] [823] [1] Endless ill luck would follow whoever ignored the laws of rank and built a dwelling at a level higher than a temple. The Balinese have resented the building of a Government rest-house on a hill above the holy temple of Tirta Empul in Tampaksiring, and our servant Pugog insisted he could not bring his wife to Tjampuan because the temple across the ravine was at a lower level than the house, and intercourse with a woman there could only result in a catastrophe.

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tain side of the house. The *metén* was a small building on a platform of bricks or sandstone, with a thick roof of thatch supported by eight posts and surrounded by four walls. There were no windows in the *metén* and the only light came through the narrow door. When one's eyes grew accustomed to the darkness inside, one could see the only furniture, the two beds, one on either side of the door. In more elaborate homes the platform of the *metén* extends into a front porch with additional beds. In Den Pasar, where modernism is rampant, many a front porch is embellished with framed photographs of relatives, made by the local Chinese photographer. By the door of Gedog's *metén* hung a picture of him with his wife and children in ceremonial clothes, violently coloured with anilines, sitting dignified and stiff against a background of stormy clouds, draperies, columns, and balustrades. The generous photographer had added all sorts of extra jewellery with little dabs of gold paint. I have seen the most amazing objects hanging in the porches of Balinese homes: dried lobsters, painted plates representing the snow-covered Alps, Chinese paintings on glass, old electric bulbs filled with water, aquatic plants growing out of them, postal cards of New York skyscrapers, and so forth; objects prized as exotic, rare things, as we prize their discarded textiles and moth-eaten carvings. In one house we found a picture of Queen Wilhelmina; we asked who she was and the quick reply came: "Oh! *itu gouvermen* — That is the Government." The *metén* is the sanctuary of the home; here heirlooms are kept and the family's capital is often buried in the earth floor under the bed. Normally the heads of the family sleep in the *metén*, but being the only building in which privacy can be secured, they relinquish it to newly-weds or to unmarried girls who need protection. They shut themselves into it at night, but otherwise the entire life of the household is spent outdoors on the porch or in the surrounding open pavilions, each provided with beds for other members of the family.

The other three sides of Gedog's courtyard were occupied by three open pavilions; on the left was the *balé tiang sanga*, the

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342 social parlour and guest house, and two smaller pavilions were on the right (*balé sikepat*) and back (*balé sekenam*) where other relatives slept with the children and where the women placed their looms to work. In the lowest part of the land, towards the sea, were the kitchen (*paon*) and the granary (*lumbung*). Rice was threshed in a cleared space (*tongos nebuk padi*) behind the granary. As in every household, there were two [778] small shrines (*tugú*), one west of the *metén*, the other in the middle of the courtyard, the *pengidjeng* perhaps dedicated to the spirit of the land, "His Excellency the Owner of the Ground" (*Ratú Medrwé Karang*).

Such is the general pattern of the home of a family of the average class that has ricefields and is economically comfortable. The better homes often have more elaborate pavilions, one of which may become a *lodji* (a Dutch word) by enclosing half of the pavilion with four walls, leaving the other half as an open veranda. This will provide a second sleeping-quarter for a married son. In the houses of the well-to-do the social hall is often a great square pavilion (*balé gedé*) with an extraordinarily thick thatch roof supported by twelve beautifully carved posts. A well-built *balé*, the archtype of Balinese construction, is a masterpiece of simplicity, ingenuity, and good taste. It consists of a platform of mud, brick, or stone reached by three or four steps and covered by a cool roof of thick thatch. The roof is supported by more or less elaborate wooden posts (*tiang*), the number of which determines their name and function. Thus a *balé* is called *sikepat*, *sekenam*, *tiang sanga*, or *balé gedé*, according to whether there are four, six, nine, or twelve posts. Definite rules dictate the dimensions and designs of these posts, 23 lengths of the index finger (*tudjoh*), or about seven feet, being the standard height of a house post. It has already been mentioned that the house must stand "upright"; that is, the bottom of the posts should be the end nearest to where the roots were in the tree. The roof is built of *lalang* grass sown on the long ribs of coconut leaves, placed close together like shingles and lashed to the bamboo

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skeleton of the roof with indestructible cords of sugar-palm fibre, with an extra thickness of grass added to the four corners. Then the roof is combed with a special rake and the lower edge is

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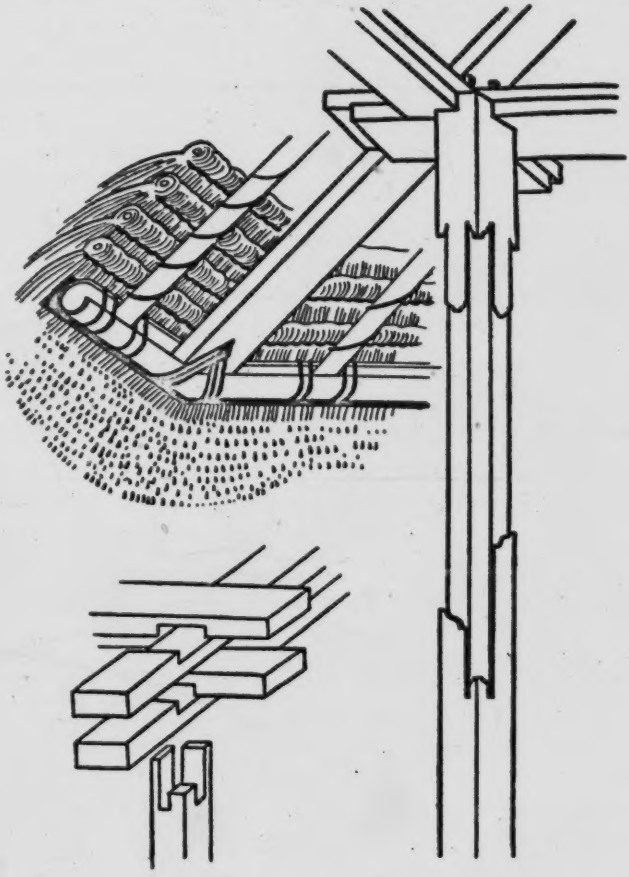

Structure of a *Balé*

neatly evened with a sharp knife. Such a roof, often a foot and a half in thickness, will last through fifty tropical rainy seasons. The beams that support the roof are ingeniously fitted together without nails, and are held in place with pegs made of heart of coconut wood.

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2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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coconut wood. Generally one or two sides of the *balé* are protected by a low wall and between the house posts are built-in beds or platforms of wood with springs of bamboo, also called *balés*, where distinguished guests sit cross-legged to eat, or where, with a mattress added and screened by a curtain, they are put up for the night.

In Belaluan everybody was up even before the first rays of the sun outlined the jagged tops of the coconut palms, awakened by the raucous crowings of the fighting cocks. In the indigo semi-darkness of the dawn the women were busily sweeping the yard and bringing water from the village spring. The first thought of the men was for their pets; to line up the bell-shaped cages of the fighting cocks out on the road by the gate so that the roosters might "amuse themselves watching people go by." The cages of the cooing doves were strung up on high poles for them to enjoy the morning air and the sunshine, and the flocks of pigeons, trained to fly in circles over the house, were released for their morning exercise. As protection from birds of prey, they had small brass bells around their necks that produced various humming sounds as they flew round and round until they tired, when they came down to be fed.

After a refreshing bath the men started for the fields without breakfast, taking along a snack — rice boiled inside of little diamond-shaped containers of palm-leaf called *ketipat*. More substantial food was taken to them later if they had to remain in the fields all day, but they returned at noon for lunch if there was not much work or if the *sawas* were near. Meanwhile the women fetched sheaves of unhusked rice from the granary, spread them on the ground to dry in the sun, filled the *gebah* — the large water-basin in the kitchen — and started the fire for the day's cooking. A kitchen is a simple roof of coarse thatch supported by four posts, with a bamboo platform at one end — the kitchen table — and a primitive mud stove at the other. Often a crude figure is modelled out of the same clay of which the hearth is made to

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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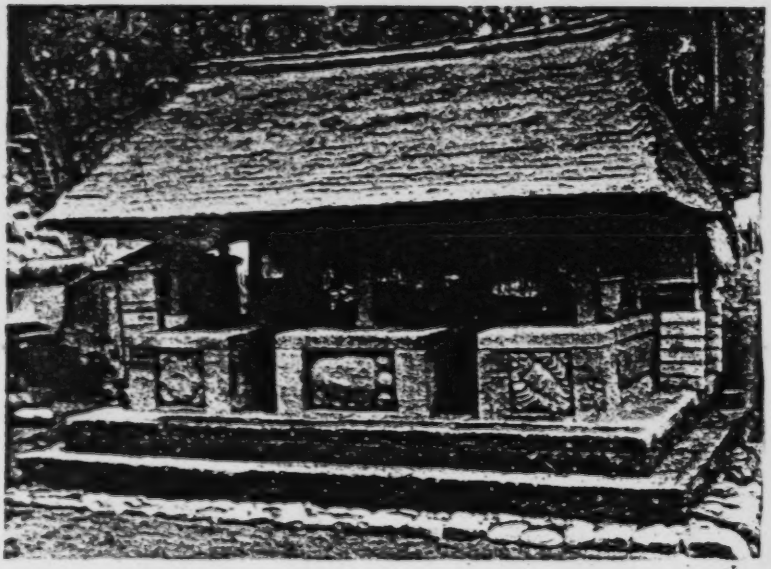

Every Balinese home, which houses one family or a number of related families in its many pavilions, is surrounded by a wall of whitewashed mud

Not all Balinese kitchens are as elaborate as this, with its carved stone ornaments of crabs, turtles, shrimps

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

postponed for two more moons. Instead a simpler *odalan* would be celebrated in the Balé Agung, and afterward the gods carried in procession to a temple one day's walk away, accompanied by four hundred of the villagers, to be fully cleansed with holy water of the evil which had befallen them (*mĕlis, ngĕlungayang*). This is the way of old. The people must obey the laws of the *kramă dĕsă*, for should they neglect the ritual in any form, famine would be upon the land, pestilence in the village, the crops fail, the beasts die. The birth of *anak kĕmbar bunching*, a boy and a girl, is the sign of disaster — only by strict adherence to the laws may the disasters be averted.

On the morning following the birth of the twins the men of the village tore down the house where they were born. It did not take long, for the houses of Sukawană are but a single chamber fitted with a raised sleeping-platform on either side of a low hearth — three stones on a mud floor. The walls are of solid two-inch boards, the roof a shingle of split bamboo, turned inner side upward to make gutters for the rain. When the house was in pieces, the men loaded it on their shoulders and carried it off down the steep trail to the edge of the graveyard. Behind them came the women bearing mats, baskets, clay pots, a coconut spoon, all the furnishings and contents of the house. When they had finished, the place where the house had stood lay bare and empty, a break in the trim line of the compound, like the gap of a fallen tooth.

If the new house which was to be built up out of the materials of the old had been to accomodate only the family of the twins, the building would have been easy, for the wood is joined, the pillars fit into the beams, and the roof bamboos hang on their supports by slits cut in the lower side of each shingle. But the new *kubu* was to accomodate some fifty men. These were the watchmen, the *gĕbagan*, relatives and villagers who would take turns sleeping there beside the graveyard. Why must they watch — what must they watch for? Are they the keepers of the unlucky parents? No, the people say they come out of

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

to give them shelter in his house, since they have no longer any house of their own [1]).

I Lèwèr and Ni Jungir, after forty-two days of exile, were now free to enter the village. They walked slowly and with dignity down the street where their old house had stood, each carrying a "twin" and each firmly grasping a knife with an onion impaled. There was no greeting from the villagers, nor any sign of joy or sadness on the faces of the parents. Before they reached the site of their house, twenty yards away down the street, mats were spread for them. There they must sit and wait in the street for perhaps three hours, while the ceremony *malik sumpah* would take place – the ceremony of turning off the curse which was upon them, but in which for the time they had no part.

Immediately opposite the entrance to the house-court the feast for the villagers was going on. Many men sat cross-legged on the *balé's*, enjoying their portion of rice and succulent morsels of meat. In the roadway pits had been dug for roasting, and ducks, chickens, pigs and sausages were being given a final turn on the spit. The villagers who had witnessed the ceremonies outside the village now had their share of the feast.

The Sĕngguhu priest now took his place on a mat spread amongst the offerings on the site of the old house. Before

[1]) The Balian did not give the obvious explanation that the parents had to burn their house three times lest they might bring a curse upon the house in which they would live. If there were any chance of disaster accompanying them no villager would receive them into his house. A lontar from Tonjă states that if anything is lacking in the ceremony twins may be born three times in succession. I did not find anywhere else in Bali the custom of burning two small *kubu's* after the real one. But in general the case does not come up that the parents must be given hospitality in another house, for the village plan of Sukawanä differs from the usual village made up of individual family courtyards. The usual Balinese house consists of several separate buildings, and only the *balé pĕgat* or the *mĕtèn* where the children are born must be torn down and burned ... sometimes not even that. So that the parents on their return still have other buildings to inhabit in their own housecourt, and are not obliged to seek hospitality elsewhere.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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857 consciousness of position in space develops naturally together with
858 the use of language, and the words "kadja," "kelod," "koaeh," and
823 "kangin" are frequently heard in the chatter of the four and five year olds. When such a group was making drawings at my house, they arranged between them which was to have the South wall, which the East, and so on.

823 Every Balinese sleeps with his head either to the North (in
513 North Bali, South; see footnote, p. 2) or to the East. He may not even lie down for a moment in the opposite direction, for the feet are dirty and may not be put in the place of the head. To lie in the reversed position is said to be "lying like a dead man," although the
[764] Balinese in South Bali are not buried with their heads to the South. The implication is that only a dead man, who could not help himself, would lie in this dangerously wrong way.

Sense of Social Orientation

829 By imitation of their elders the children soon learn also on which
576 "level" they should sit at formal gatherings. Within the courtyard
342 of the Balinese house are a number of pavilions, each on a foundation
867 of sandstone varying in height from two to four feet. On the platforms so formed are couches of bamboo, constructed between the pillars which support the roof. It is customary to sit either upon the clay floor of the foundation-platform or on the couches, which also may vary in height. Thus are provided a hierarchy of sitting-places, whose relative height may be easily ascertained, as the pavilions are without walls.

593 In family groups no particular attention is paid to the arrange-
576 ment of levels, and a little girl does not have to stop to think whether
574 or not she is sitting higher than grandfather. But on the advent of a visitor, especially if he be of higher caste than the family of the host, politeness requires that he be given the highest place. At a
[585] wedding which I attended of a young man of noble birth, a nephew of the Radja, or Regent of the district, the most formal rules were observed in the seating of the guests. On the floor of the highest
793 pavilion sat the High Priests. On a near-by lower pavilion sat the
574 men of rank, and across the court on a still lower pavilion, the women
554 of the family, also of noble birth. Some chairs were provided for
565 the male guests of the "advanced" type, but these were avoided by the more humble members of the group. Even those seated on chairs
[514] were on a level inferior to that where the High Priests sat, cross-legged on the floor.

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

younger brother, putting most of the heavy work upon him. But it is true that Rendah is not strong and that Dog is not very bright.

Dog and his wife Rawi have no children. This is a tragedy to the Balinese. Rendah has recently allowed them to "adopt"[1] one of his little girls, Dajoeh. It would not seem to be a very serious change for the child, as they all live together in the same court, and she, with her brothers and sisters, has always called their aunt and uncle by the same names as their mother and father, mémé and bapă. However, Dajoeh senses a difference, and follows Rawi about, always at her heels like a young colt.

The eighth child of Rendah's father was a girl, Ketoet Djinar, who married and went to live in Njéstanan, a different bandjar of the same village. She is in and out of Rendah's house, helping when there is heavy work with the harvest, rice-pounding, or special preparations for a temple festival. But she neither eats nor sleeps there regularly.

The mother of all these children, whose name, she remembered, was Kintil, is of course also a member of the household. She continues to sleep in the place of honor, the balé săkănem, which in her husband's time she shared with him. Although the old man had been for several years in his dotage, unable to fulfill his functions in the village council (where he was represented by Rendah), and rather pushed aside by his grandchildren, Kintil is still a vigorous old woman in full possession of her faculties, respected and esteemed by all the household.

On the plan of Rendah's house (fig. 4) it will be seen that of the space enclosed by the walls the "highest," that is, the northeast corner, towards the mountains and the abode of the gods, is reserved for the household shrines. The balé săkănem is an elevated open pavilion, on a stone foundation, whose thatch roof is supported by six wooden pillars. There is a brick wall at the back, the other three sides are open. The space between four pillars forms a sleeping-place, a raised platform built between the pillars. Here the grandmother sleeps, sometimes with one or two of the children.

The metèn is a house with mud-walls enclosing two sleeping platforms, and outside, on the porch formed by the overhanging roof, are two more sleeping places, with curtains of red print material. Newly married young people, and young unmarried girls sleep in such inner rooms—they have reasons for privacy, or must be protected. Here the two girls Ngetis and Dajoeh usually sleep. Rendah sleeps on the porch, in the "higher" bed, towards the east, often with one of his little sons. His wife occupies the other outer bed. The baby sleeps with her, or in fact any of the younger

[1] The term is anak ngidih, "asked-for person."

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

children, who have no fixed sleeping places, but are apt to visit about with their elders.

In the balé siang-sangā, which is a sort of family sitting room, also without walls, a place is found for the younger brother Dog and his wife Rawi. There are three platforms, and the children may also sleep here if they please. When guests are spending the night Dog and Rawi give up to them the largest bed, on a slightly higher level, to do them honor.

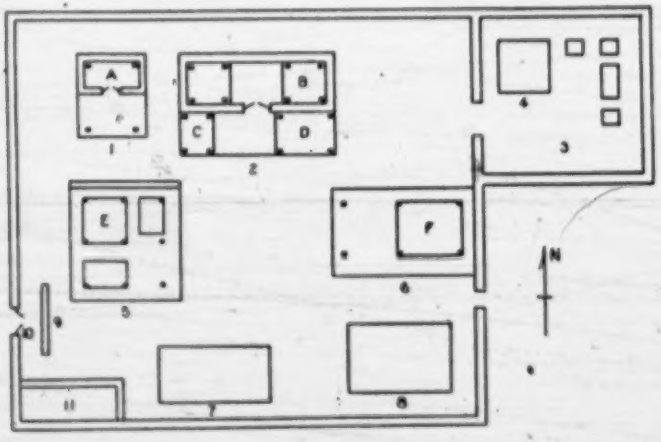

FIG. 4. Plan of the house of Rendah. 1, Balé Sākāpat, pavilion with four posts; 2, Metèn, house with inner room; 3, Sanggah, household temple; 4, Balé Piasan, pavilion for offerings; 5, Balé Siang-sangā, pavilion with nine posts; 6, Balé Sakanem, pavilion with six posts; 7, Paon, kitchen; 8, Djineng, rice-storing place; 9, Aling-aling, magic wall; 10, Kori, gateway; 11, Pigs. A, Koti; B, Dajoeh, Ngetis; C, Rieh, Tjeremé; D, Rendah, Adā; E, Dog, Rawi; F, Kintil, Dapet.

Koti, the eldest sister who was married and divorced, sleeps in a little room in the balé sākāpat, which is reserved for her.

The kitchen stands opposite to the metèn. East of this is the high pointed-roofed djineng, the rice-storing place. Behind are the pigs and fowls. Immediately opposite the entrance gate, blocking the court from the view of passersby and the attacks of evil spirits, is the aling-aling, a single strip of wall. The gate is a sort of stile, covered over by a thatched roof—you go up steps, through a doorway, and down more steps onto the roadway without. Cut into the mud wall on either side of the gateway are small niches used for offerings.

TIMOR OF20 Flores OF9
JAVA OC1 Nias OD11
Buru OH8
Bali OF7
New Guinea OJ1

I [397 cont.]
342 the houses in North Tëtoen (Bëloe) in particular are oval in form.
174 In the western part of Flores (Manggarai), too, the original
F [398] form of the houses was that of a large-sized cone. The
342 main support runs through the center of the circular floor of split
I bamboo or planks, which lies half a meter to a meter above the
342 ground. The rafters run from the top of the central support to
174 the edges of the flooring. The roof covering of dried leaves, split rattan, etc. is fastened down by circular bamboo laths. In the newer kind of house the roof does not run down to the floor, but rests upon a little wall of pressed bamboo around the edge of the floor. Larger houses with elliptical floors are also found here.

I Northern Nias also has oval houses, while those of southern
342 Nias are square. Since housebuilding on southern Nias is un-
174 doubtedly much superior to that in the north of the island, there
N is further evidence here that the square form is a higher develop-
[342] ment.

With the above exceptions in mind, the square house is the rule throughout the archipelago. The chief differences are in size, the shape of the roof, the partitioning of the interior space, the kind of material used, and whether the house is built on the ground or raised on piles.

J To take the last first, this is the principal difference between
[342] central and eastern Java, where the houses are not raised on piles, and practically all the other peoples of the archipelago, among whom pile-dwellings are found (1), built on the shore, on the

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1. Exceptions are the above-mentioned houses of the dwarf Papuans, the round dwellings on Timor, the dwellings on Buru, and the houses on Bali; the last will be dealt with separately.

banks of a river above the water, or, in the interior, above the
J ground. The height of the floor above the ground varies greatly,
[342] from several feet in western Java to several meters in central Borneo and other places.

F [404 cont.]
342 be mentioned. Here the house stands on piles 1.50 to two meters above the ground and has vertical walls about 1.50 meters high. Above this there is a very high roof which, except in front, drops to the height of the floor, offering double protection inside
F [132] against the often very cold winds in these areas. [405] An inner gallery is built against the house on the front, with the floor lower than that of the house; it is partially closed off at the front by a wooden or bamboo balustrade. In front of it and somewhat lower still is an outer gallery that is not closed off. [Illustration appears here.] This is often attached to the galleries of the adja-
F [531 554] cent houses, so that a number of houses in the same row are connected with one another. The houses of prominent persons often have three galleries. Woodcarvings are common around the door and in other places. The houses of the Ngada serve as dwellings
F [512] for only one or two small families [gezin]. During the day people stay in the front gallery and at night inside the house where a fire always burns.

I 342 From the foregoing description it is already obvious that the building materials are always wood and bamboo, never stone. An exception to this general rule is found in the houses on Bali
B L and a part of Lombok where clay and natural stone are used.
342 "The typical Balinese dwelling is an oblong rectangle divided into three parts. The front part includes the rice granaries, or in some cases the cattle shed, and accommodations for guests; the second, the [406] sleeping rooms and the kitchen of the
B [316] family; and the third, the house temple. The living rooms are of clay and covered with thatch or atap. In the stony areas of Karangasem and Bangli, which are poor in clay, natural stone is used for the walls and bamboo laths for the roof covering. Well-to-do Balinese divide their compounds, which cover a greater area, into more sections, each of which is used for a particular purpose" (1). [Illustration appears here.]

1. Encyclopaedie van Nederlands Indië, Vol. I, p. 121. See also the detailed

1:Alkema & Bezemer--454 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
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description, with ground plan, by F.A.J. Mooyen, Kunst op Bali [Art on Bali] (1926), Chapters V, VI, and VII.

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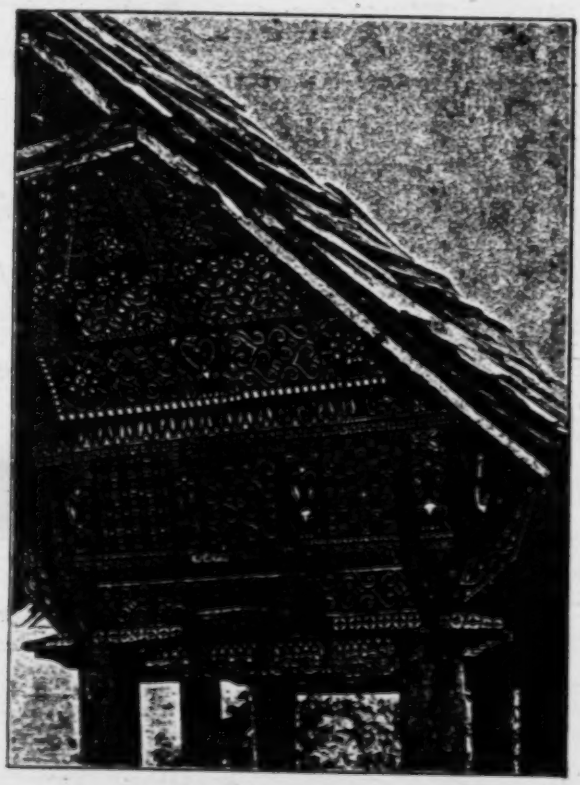

Rice Granary in Nènèng

The houses on the northern coast of Lombok have a foundation of stone filled in with clay from 0.75 to one meter high, of which 20 to 25 centimeters is a solid mass of stone, while the rest of the walls are of plaited bamboo. In the southeastern part of Lombok the villages are surrounded by walls of clay, as on Bali, while lower walls run through the villages, forming streets. The walls of the houses here are sometimes made of clay, sometimes of plaited bamboo or planks.

I [68 cont.]
342 over a middle section (3). There is little to say about the roof.

3. Van Hasselt, ibid., p. 154.

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342 It is often very high in proportion to the house. The shape of the roof of Malayan houses is peculiar. The ridge is concave in the middle and then runs upward into points at the ends.

We have said enough about the houses on piles and shall now briefly discuss houses on the ground.

d. Houses on the Ground, Their Layout

B
342 Before proceeding, however, we shall say a few words about
351 the houses of the Balinese. Dr. Jacobs reports that the houses,
364 umah, and yards are places for the collection of filth, unhealthy
417 and inhospitable sties. Fortunately, the Balinese spend a lot of time outside the house or sit and sleep in the pavilion pendopó (Bal. balé) in the yard, where many even spend the night. A Balinese yard, natah, is a large square surrounded by a wall, témbok, of clay one and a half to two meters high. A narrow opening is the entryway [69] to the square, which is entirely filled with little houses made of wood or clay or kadjang matting and covered with atap, which represent the living quarters, as many dwellings as there are households, which usually all belong to
B one family. The space free of these little houses is filled with
231 garbage, human and animal excrement, piles of leaves, etc., and what is not eaten by pigs, chickens, and dogs wandering around stays where it is and gradually forms a dunghill. The huts themselves are small, stuffy, and low. Light enters through the door, and the cracks in roof and walls serve as ventilators. In the
B
342 center of the square, there is a kind of pavilion where guests are
574 received and where they sleep; this is the balé mamběng, which
513 in cleanliness and decoration contrasts favorably with the rest.

B [69 cont.]
342 Near the entryway there is the tugu, a stone niche for offerings,
782 in which the morning and evening offerings are deposited (1).

1. Jacobs, Eenigen tijd onder de Baliërе [Some Time among the Balinese], p. 87.

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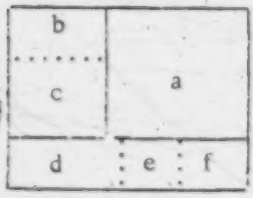
342 Thus we see that among the Balinese, although the family still lives together communally, each household has its own residence. Among the Javanese, Makassarese, and Buginese we find houses inhabited by only one household unit [gezin], and all the members of the same family [familie] no longer live together. Also, their houses no longer stand on piles, but simply on the ground. We can distinguish two types of houses built on the ground, windowless huts and houses with windows. Those of the
J Javanese usually belong among the former. They show great
342 variety in form and layout, as is shown by the division made by
352 Mr. Poensen, who gives five different shapes. The omah grija
353 limas with a very high roof running up to a ridge is typical and very popular. (2)

2. Poensen, "Iets over de woning der Javanen [Some remarks on the dwelling of the Javanese]," Med. v. w. h. Ned. Zend. Gen., Vol. XIX, p. 120 ff.

[70] As a rule, the interior of the house is divided into six rooms. The middle one of the three that border on the right wall is called bomâ (a) and is the room in which a couch stands. This room is sometimes used as a sleeping room, but customarily it serves as a ceremonial room which is used for weddings. During the festivities on such occasions, the young couple sits there, surrounded by female guests, and members of the family. The other two rooms, b and c, on the right wall (sĕptong and sarong)

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